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A
SEASONABLE
MEMORIAL
IN SOME
HISTORICAL NOTES
UPON THE
LIBERTIES
OF THE
PRESSE and PULPIT:
WITH THE
Effects of Popular Petitions, Tumults,
Associations, Impostures, and
Disaffected Common-Councils.

To all Good Subjects and True Protestants.
By Sir Roger L'Estrange.

LONDON,
Printed for *Henry Brome* at the Gun in
S. Pauls Church-yard, 1680,

MEMORIAL

LIBERTIES

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WITH THIS

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A Seasonable MEMORIAL, &c.

THis Title may perhaps give the Reader an expectation, if not a Curiosity to hear more then the Author is willing to tell him : For it is his intent, only to expose the Mistry of the *Contrivance*, of our late Troubles, without the names of the *Persons* ; and to shew that the great work of Destroying *three Kingdoms* was only the Project, and Influence of a Private Cabal : and that the Rebellion it self was excited and carry'd on by the Force, rather of an *Impulse* then of a *Confederacy* ; The Generality of the people, being powerfully, and artificially Possess'd by the pretended Patrons of our Religions, and Civill Liberties, that *Papery* and *Arbitrary Power* were breaking in upon us, and the design promoted by the Interest of a Court-Faction ; it could not chuse but create in them the tenderest affection imaginable for the one Party, and as violent a Detestation for the other : Especially considering that the *Person* and *Authority* of the King were as yet *Sacred* ; and uot any man open'd his Mouth, but for his *Honour*, and *safety* ; the *Purity* of the *Gospel*, and the Peace of the *Kingdome*. For such was the Reverence the Nation had, at that time, for the *King*, and the *Law*, that the least word against the Government had spoyl'd dull.

This *Double-refining spirit* came into the World, even with the *Reformation* it self ; when by flying from one Extreme to another, it left the Truth in the middle ; which *Calvin* himself takes notice of in a Letter to the *Protector* (in *Ed. 6.*) *There are two sorts of Seditions men* (says he, speaking of the *Papists* and the *Puritans*) *and against both these must the sword be drawn ; For they oppose the King, and God himself.* It was the same Spirit that mov'd the *Dissemper* afterward at *Frankfort* ; and the same still, that made such havock in *Scotland* ; and flew in the face of *Q. Elizabeth*, her *Parliaments* and *Council* : till she was forced to suppress it by *Severity* and *Rigour*. Her successor King *James*, after a long Persecution in *Scotland*, and a fresh attempt upon him

at *Hampton Court*, by the same Faction : took them up roundly, once for all, and so past the rest of his days in some measure of quiet. But the Plot succeeded better under King *Charles*; when taking advantage of his Majesties necessities, with the Infinite goodness of his Nature, that made him apt to believe the best of all men, and a Popular mixture in the House of Commons, that was still ready for their turn, they pursu'd him with *Remonstrances* upon *Remonstrance*, through four Parliaments; and at last by the help of the *Art* for the continuance of the Parliament, *Tumult*, and that Execrable Label of Dec. 15. 1641. Entitled, *A Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom*, they accomplished their ends, under the Countenance of the Fifth. By what Steps, and Methods they gained their Coynt, comes now to be consider'd.

The Schism
led the way
to the Sediti-
on.

Their first advance toward a *Sedition*, was the introducing of a *Schism*; by distinguishing themselves, under the Name of the *Godly Party*, from the rest of the Nation : which they found to be the safest way of approach, and the most plausible expedient. To this end they brought in *Lecturers* over the Heads of *Parochial Ministers*; whose maintenance being dependent upon the Faction, made them wholly at the devotion of their Patrons.

Emissaries in
Corporations

They had their *Emissaries* also in all Corporations, and Populous parts of the Kingdom, that were appointed as *Froffers*, to deal for *Impropriations*, under the charitable pretext of making a better *Provision* for the Ministry. And these were men of publick business in the World, as Clergy-men, Lawyers, &c. well known, and made famous for their Zeal, by the Reputation of so pious an Undertaking. By this project they advanced considerable Sums of Money; but the Incumbents little the better for it : For either it stuck to the *Froffers* fingers, or it was apply'd to other uses; and with the *Tithe* of a *Parsonage* in one place, a *Lecture* was set up in another.

Seminaries of
Novices.

After the Choice of fit Instruments; their next work was to secure them from any trouble of *Church-Censures* : To which end, they bought some *Headship* or other in an University, for some Eminent man of their own way, for the training up of Novices in their Discipline. And then they had a kind of a *Practical Seminary* at *St. Antholines* in *London*; where their Disciples were in a manner, upon a Probation, for Abilities, and Affections: and out of this Nursery they furnish'd most of their New-bought *Impropriations*.

These

These young *Emissaries* of theirs had their Salary, and were subordinate to a *Classis* or *Clerus-Laical Consistory*, to be trans-^{Their Agents} planted at their pleasure. And yet this Consistory did not so ^{were upon} strictly confine themselves to their Own Members; but upon ^{their behav-} Letters Testimonial from the Patriarchs of the Party, that such or such a man was fit for their turn; or had given proof of his fidelity to the Cause, by undergoing some sentence for contemning the Orders of the Church, and persisting Obstinately in that disobedience: to such a man, (I say) in such a Case, they commonly allow'd a Preference. And the better to avoid the danger of the Spiritual Courts, they made it their business to provide *Commissaries* of their Own Leaven, where they had any special Plantation. And Lastly, to make sure of their Agents, that they should not fall off when they had serv'd their own turns, they kept them only as *Pensioners at pleasure*, and liable to be turn'd out at any time, either if they cool'd in the *Holy Cause*, or fail'd of Preaching according to the direction of the *Overlawe*.

Let it be noted here by the by, that the design and mischief of those *Lecturers*, when they could nor so well Congregate in *Private Meetings*, is, in our days, supply'd, if not outdone, by a greater number of *Conventions*; to the very same Intent; and God grant it prove not with the like effect.

They were as yet but upon the *Preparatory* to the great work of their *Thorough Reformation*; which in plain *English* was the *Dissemination* of the Government. So that the Pulpits had nothing ^{The People} more to do at present, then to dispose and accommodate the ^{were possion'd} Humours and Affections of the People. The Common Subject of the Pulpit (and they all sing the same Song) was *First* to irritate the Multitude against Popery: which had been well enough, if they had not, *Secondly*, by *Insinuations*, under the Notion of *Arminianism*, intimated the Church of *England* to be leaning that way. By this Artifice the People were quickly brought into a dislike of the *English Communion*; and by degrees into as fierce an Aversion to the One Church, as to the Other. Now whatsoever the *Government Lost*, the *Faction Gain'd*: And those *Pedantique Levites*, that brought so many dreadful judgments upon this Nation themselves; were by the Credulous, Tumultuary Rabble cry'd up and Idolized, as the very *Moses's* that stood in the Gap to avert them. Having by this means render'd the Government *Odious*, and given some credit

The boast of
their Nom-
bers.

to the Schism; their next instruction was, to make Procuration of the Numbers, the quality and the sobriety of the Persons aggriev'd; to possess the one side with a confidence, and the other with an apprehension of their strength! *Thousands of Souls ready to Famish, (they cry) for want of the Bread of Life. How many Insufficient negligent and scandalous Pastors? How many Congregations destitute of able, Faithfull Teachers; Preaching in season and out of season, and labouring in the Word? Alas! they dare not consent to any Addition to, or Diminution of Christs Worship, or to the Use of the Inventions of Men in Gods Service. They desire only the Freedom that Christ and his Apostles have left unto the Churches; and to serve God according to the Example of the best Reformed Churches abroad. This is the Case of Thousands of the upright of the Land. Let it be understood, that the Presb all this while kept pace with the Pulpit; only now and then there started out a Party upon the Forelorn, to make Discoveries, and try the Temper of the Government. Some scap'd, and others were taken, and censur'd; as Leighton, Burton, Frin, and Balthwick, who only shewed themselves inconsiderately before their Friends were ready to Second them.*

They grow
upon the Go-
vernment.

We shall see now how they changed their stile with their Condition; and how their boldness increased with their Interest. Their grievances at first, were only a dark and a doubtful Prospect of Popery, and *Papish Innovations* afar off; and an anxiety of thought for the calamities that were coming upon Gods People through the corruptions of the Times. But success opening their Eyes, they are coming now to discover more and more Popery nearer hand: They find the *Church-men* to be *Papishly affected*; the *Liturgy* to be no other then an *English Mass-Book*; the *Hierarchy* it self and all the *Courts*, and *Officers* depending upon it, to be directly *Anti-Christian*: They charge his Majesty to be *Papishly affected*, and all that will not renounce him, to be either flat *Papists* or *Worshippers*, imposing *Protestations, Covenants, Engagements of Confederacy* against both *King and Church*; and Oaths of *Abjuration*: as the *Tests* of a *Loyal Protestant*: passing an *Anathema* upon any man that interposes betwixt their malice, and their Sovereign: They prostitute the Sacred Function for Money; they suck the blood of *Widows* and of *Orphans*; By violence taking possession of *Ecclesiastical Livings* at one clap, out of *Ninety years*, within the Walls of *London*; exposing so many Reverend, and Loyal Divines with their Families, to the wide World

World to beg their Bread: They Preach the People into *Murther, Sacrilege, and Rebellion*, they pursue a most gracious Prince to the Scaffold; they animate the *Regicides*, calling that *Execrable Villanyan Act of Publick Justice*, and Entitling the *Holy Ghost* to the Treason.

If this General recital of the Rise and Progress of their Actions be true; the Reader has here before him the Issue, and the drift of their pretended *Scruples*, the Exposition of their *Protestations, Covenants, and Designs*: wherein it cannot but be observ'd how their *Consciences* widen'd with their *Interests*: And this may serve to satisfy any man, whither People are then a going, ^{They square} when they come to tread in the same steps. But however, for ^{their Consciences to their} a further support to the credit of this Memorial, we shall now subjoyn some undeniable Evidences of the whole matter, out of these *Owa words and Writings*: where we shall finde Mr. *Haskers* saying made good, in the Preface to his *Ecclesiastical Polity*. *What other spirit (says he) can any wise man imagine but this; that having first resolv'd that attempts for Discipline without Superiours are Lawfull, it will follow in the next place to be disposed what may be attempted against Superiours.* But now to our Proofs, which we shall give you from Point to Point, and from the very *Babbies* of the *Schisme*.

First, Asto the CHURCH. Gods people (says *Burton*) lie under *Bondage of Conscience* in points of Liturgy. 2dly, In bondage of *Psalm 57. 7. 8. Conscience under Ceremonies.* 3dly. Of *Conscience under Discipline.* 4ly. Of *Conscience under Government.*

How the Presence and Preaching of Christ did scorch and blast those Pa. 21. Cathedral Priests, that Unhallowed Generations of Scribes and Pharisees! Case on *Regu* 10. 2. 3. pa 33.

Preslery and Prelaticall Clergy; Priests and Jesuits; Ceremonys and Case on Use Service-Book; Star-Chamber and High Commission-Court, were might 41. 4. pa 39. by Impediments in the way of Reformation.

The Scots were necessitated to take up Arms for their just Defense Ward on *Deus* against Anti-Christ, and the Popish Priests. 33. 16. pa. 18.

Now to the LITURGY. The Service of the Church of England is now so dressed, that if a Pope should come and see it, he would Claim it as his own. And again, what credit is this to our Church, to have such a Form of Publick Worship, as Popish may without offence Joyn with us in? This we have from the *Smithymans* themselves.

E. Cal.

E. Cal. and Stephen Marshall being part of the Club. Now (says Bishop Hall) If the Devil confess Christ to be the Son of God, shall I disclaim the Truth because it passeth through a damned mouth? And what did they give us, in exchange for this Form of Publique worship, but a Directory without either the Decalogue, or a Creed in't?

Dispu. against English Popish Ceremonies, pa. 21. Let not the pretence of Peace and Unity cool your Persever, or make you spare to oppose your selves unto those Idle and Idolizant Ceremonies, against which we dispute.

Smectymnuus, pa. 38. Their next sting is at the HIERARCHY it self. The Flattering or palliating of these Rotten Members, [Bishops] will be a greater dishonour to the Nation, and Church, then their cutting off; and the Personall Acts of these Sons of Belial being connived at, become National sins.

Marshall's Fore the Commonwealth, Jun. 15. 43. Page 25. The Roman Emperors wasted the Saints in Ten several Persecutions, but all these were nothing in Comparison of this destroyer. All their Loyes are not so heavy as the little finger of Antichrist.

Case of the Covenant, 1643. pa. 47. The Prelacy of England which we swore to extirpate, was that very same Fabrick and mode of Ecclesiasticall Regiment, that is in the Antichristian World. And again; As thy Sword Prelacy hath made many Women Childlesse, many a faithfull Minister Peoplelesse, so thy Mother Papacy, shall be made Childlesse among Harlots: your Diocesses, Bishoplesse, and your Sees Lordlesse. Page. 51.

Marshall's Penititique 1643. pa. 21. Carry on the work still; leave not a Ragg that belongs to Popery: Lay not a bit of the Lords building, with any thing that belongs to Antichrist, but away with it Root and Branch, Head and Tail, till you can say, now is Christ set upon his Throne.

Woodcock on Gen. 4. 23. pa. 17. Were they not English Prelates that conspired to sell their Brethren into Romish slavery?

Fairclough on Job. 9. 25. pa. 18. 'Tis not partial Reformation, and Execution of Justice upon some Offenders will afford us help, except those in Authority extirpate all Achans with Babylonish Garments, and Orders, Ceremonies, Gestures, be rooted out from amongst us. Trouble they will bring upon us for the time to come, if they be not now cut off, Page. 36.

Case on Gal. 4. 12. 18. As to the KING and his PARTY, what a sad thing is it, my Brethren, to see our King in the head of an Army of Babylonians, refusing as it were to be called the King of England, Scotland, Ireland, and chusing rather to be called the King of Babylon.

Calan's Sermon, Dec. 25. 44. pa. 8. Those that made their Peace with the King at Oxford, were Judases of England; and it were just with God to give them their Portion with Judas. Here

Here follows next, their Opinion of the COVENANT. *Cate on the Walls of Jerico have fall'n flat before it; the Dragon of the Covenant Bishops Service-Book broke its neck before this Ark of the Covenant, Treachery, and Prerogative have bow'd down, and given up the Ghost at its feet.* 1543. p. 61.

Take the Covenant, and you take Babilon: the Towers of Babilon, and her Scaven Hills shall move. — It is the Shibolet to distinguish Ephramites from Gileadites. *Page 27. Not only is that Covenant which God hath made with Us, founded upon the Blood of Christ, but that also which we make with God, Page 33.* *Carly's Sermon at the taking of the Covenant. Off. 6. 41.*

See now the TENDERNESS of these men of tender Con- *Bridges on* sciences. *Whensoever you shall behold the hand of God in the fall of Revelation* Babilon; say, *Truth be it a Babilonish Priest crying out alas! alas! 4 8.* my Living; I have Wife and Children to maintain. *Ay, but all this is to perform the Judgement of the Lord. Page 13. Though as Little ones they call for pity, yet as Babilonish they call for Justice, even to Blood. pag. 11.*

We are now entring upon the State of the WAR; wherein you will finde in the first place who founded the Trumpet to it. *Fairburn To you of the Honourable House, Up, for the Matter belongs to you: 3. sh 7. 13.* We even all the GODLY MINISTERS of the Country will *Page 29,* be with you.

The First Engineers that batter'd this great Wall of Babilon, who *Marshall's Ser-* were they but the poorer, and meaner sort of People, that at the *mons June,* First joy'd with the Ministers to raise the Building of Reforma- *1543. pag. 15* tion?

Here is an Extraordinary appearance of so many Ministers to en- *Cal's Speech* courage you in this Cause, that you may see how real the Godly Ministry in *Guild-hall.* in England is unto this Cause. (This was upon calling in the Scots.) *02. 6. 43.* And again: If I had as many Lives as I have hairs on my head, I would be willing to Sacrifice all those Lives for this Cause. *Ibid.* — You shall read Numb. 10. that there were two Silver Trumpets; and as there were Priests appointed for the Convocation of their Assemblies, so there were Priests to sound the Silver Trumpets to proclaim the War. And Deut. 20. When the Children of Israel would go out to War, the Sons of Levi, one of the Priests, was to make a Speech to encourage them.

Nor were they less cruel and fierce in the Prosecution of the *Herle Jan. 15.* War, *on Pl. 95 1.*

War, t'en they were forward in *Promoting* it. *In vain shall you in your Fists with Joshua, lie on your faces, unless you lay your Achans on their Backs: In vain are the High-Frailes of God in your Mouths, without a Two edged Sword in your hand, Pag. 37.*

Hieron Gen. 22. 5. Ps. 23. The Blood that Ahab spar'd in Benhadad, stuck as deep and as heavily on him, as that which he spilt in Naboth.

Isaiah 7. 23. The Lord is pursuing you, if you execute not Vengeance on them be-
times, Pag. 48.—Why should life be farther granted to them, whose
very life brings death to all about them? pag. 50.

Cant on Dm. 12. 32, 44. Cursed be he that with-holds his Sword from blood; that spares
when God saith strike, &c. pag.

And let it not be now pretended that this War was not
Levy'd against the King; for they both disclaim his Authority
and even the opposing of him on expresse terms. *It is lawfull*
(says Dr. Downing of Hackney, in a Sermon to the Artillery
Men) *for defence of Religion, and Reformation of the Church, to take*
up Arms against the King. It is commendable (says Calamy) to
fight for peace, and Reformation against the Kings Command. And
Case again. Why come not in the Scottish Army against the King?

Cal's Theses
ps. 29.
Case on the
Covenant, 43.
Here I close
the Commons
44.
*If the Devil can but once get a Prophet to leave Gods service for the
Kings, he hath taken a Blow already, and is ready for as deep a Black
as Hell can give him. pa. 28.*

But what do they say all this time to his AUTHORITY?

Cal's Theses in
a Sermon Dec.
25. 44.
*The Parliament, whom the People chuse, are the Great and only
Conservators of the peoples Liberties. pag. 2. They are the chief Ma-
gistrates, pag. 38. All those that fought under the Kings Banner a-
gainst this Parliament, fought themselves into slavery; and did en-
deavour by all bloody and Treacherous ways to subvert Religion and
Liberties, pag. 9. The Lords and Commons are as Masters of the
House. pag. 22.*

Jenkins's Pe-
tition.
*The Parliament of the Common-wealth of England without the
King 1651, were the Supreme Authority of this Nation.*

Herles Sermon
before the
Commons,
1644.
*The Houses are not only requisite to the Aiding of this Power of
making Laws, but Coordinate with his Majesty in the very Power
of Acting. pag. 42.*

Paxtons Holy
Common-
wealth.
*The Real Sovereignty here in England was (says Baxter) in King,
Lords and Commons, pag. 72. And those that conclude that the
Parliament being Subject, may not take up Arms against the King,
and*

and that it is Rebellion to resist him, their grounds are sandy, and their Superstructure false, pag. 459. 460.

The next Point is their Animating the MURDER of the KING. *Do Justice to the Greatest; Sauls Sons are not spar'd; no the Commons nor may Agag, or Benhadad, tho' themselves Kings. Zimri, and Neri. 9. 44. Cozbi (the Princess of the people) must be pursu'd into their Tents: This is the way to Consecrate your selves to God. pag. 16.*

The Execution of Judgment is the Lords word; and they shall be Strickland's cursed that do it negligently. And cursed shall they be that keep back Thine giving their Sword in this Cause. You know the story of Gods Message unto Ahab, for letting Benhadad go upon Composition, pag. 26.

But you shall now hear the MURDER of his Sacred Majesty press'd more particularly in these Words. *Think not to save your selves by an unrighteous saving of them, who are the Lords, and the Peoples known Enemies, you may not imagine to obtain the favour of those against whom you will not do Justice: For certainly, if you all not like Gods in this particular, against men truly obnoxious to Justice; they will be like Devils against you. Observe that place, 1 Kings 22. 31. compared with Chap. 20. It is said in Chap. 20. that the King of Syria came against Israel, and by the mighty power of God, he and his Army were overthrown, and the King was taken Prisoner. Now the mind of God was (which he then discover'd only by that present Providence) that Justice should have been executed upon him, but it was not. Whereupon the Prophet comes with ashes upon his face, and waited for the King of Israel, in the way where he should return; and as the King passed by, he cry'd unto him, thus saith the Lord, because thou hast let go a man whom I appointed for Destruction, therefore thy Life shall go for his Life. Now see how the King of Syria, after this, answers Ahab's slave: about three years after, Israel and Syria engaged in a new War, and the King of Syria gives command unto his Soldiers, that they should fight neither against small nor great, but against the King of Israel. Benhadads Life was once in Ahabs hand, and he ventur'd Gods displeasure, to let him go. But see how Benhadad rewards him for it? Fight neither against Small nor Great, but against the King of Israel, Honourable, and Worthy. If God do not lead you to do Justice upon those that have been great Actors in shedding Innocent Blood, never think to gain their Love by sparing of them; for they will, if Opportunity be ever offer'd, return again upon you. And then they will not fight against the poor, and mean ones, but against those that have been the Fountain of that*

*He is before
the Commons
Neri. 9. 44.*

*Strickland's
Sermon, Neri.
1. 44.*

*Cockayne Ser-
mon before
the Commons
Neri. 29. 48.*

*The Kings
Murder En-
couraged.*

Authority and Power which have been improved against them.

114. you not *fit* *enough* of your Ours, (says another) but will ye
 wrap y^e self up in the Treachery, M^{ur}der, Blood, Cruelty, and Ty-
 ranny of the 2^d p. 17. Set some of those Grand Malesfactors a mourning
 (that hee caused the Kingdom to mourn so many years in Garments
 full of blood) by the Execution of Justice, &c. P. 19.

Tantum Religio potuit suadere Malorum. And we are not yet at the Top on't neither; For to look back upon that hideous Impiety, not only without remorse, but with satisfaction, is a piece of hardness, and Inhumanity, till this Age, and this Cafe, perhaps unheard of.

John's Sermon: there sit Com. ns. Sept. 24 36. p. 23.

The Kings
Murder Ju-
stified.

then I have often thought, and said, I the Remnant of these Insuperable Burthens, Controversials for the Blood and Treason's blood, and spent in these late Distractions: Nor did I as yet ever hear of any Godly men, that desired, were it possible, to purchase their Friends, or Myself again, at so dear a rate, as with the return of these, to have those soul-burthens, Anti-christian Yokes re-imposed upon them. And if any such there be, I am sure that desire is no part of their Godliness; and I PROFESS MY SELF, IN THAT TO BE
NONE OF THE NUMBER.

And M. Baxter likewise in effect says as much, viz. That having
Baxters Ho'y often searched into his heart, whether he did lawfully engage in this War,
Common- or not, and whether he did lawfully encourage so many thousands to it, he
tells us, that the Issue of all his search was but this, that he cannot yet see
that he was mistaken in the main Cause, nor does he repent of it nor for-
bear doing the same, if it were to do again, in the same State of things.

We might carry the aggravation yet a step farther, in a Remarque or two upon his *Political Theſis*, where he took as much pains in 1659. to keep out his preſent Majeſty, as he did in the late War to drive out his Royal Father; caſuiſtically reſolving upon the point then in Hope and Proſpect; that in that ſtate of things, the King himſelf could not juſtify the reſuming of his Government, nor his People the ſubmitting to it. But this is enough to recommend

recommend the same persons over again, to the care of another Reformation, that were so dutifull in the former; and the Government needs not doubt but they will be just as kind to his Majesty as they were to his Father. Good God! That any thing in Humane shape, that Glories in the Murther of his Sovereign, should make a face at a Ceremony!

Here's no amplyfying of the Matter, no forcing of constructions, Packing of Presidents, or suborning of Proofs; But the Doctors of the *Schism*, *Cited*, *Produc'd*, and *Judg'd out of their own mouths*: and in so clear a manner too, as to leave no place for a doubt, either of the Fact, or of the Designe. We could give you an account of the many good Offices they did in the various Revolutions of the War, and upon the Pinching Exigences of the State: As the promoting of *Petitions*, *Tumults*, *Pratellations*, *Oaths* and *Covenants*, of all sizes and colours: the Consecrating of the Rebellion by Authorities of *Scripture*; Dividing *Wives* from their *Husbands*, *Sons* from their *Fathers*, reaching away the *Apprentices* from their *Masters*, and setting *Jesus Christ* in the Head of the *Sedition*: The artifices of their *Fasts* and *Thanksgivings*; their Cajolling the City out of their *Bags*, and the simple multitude out of their *Lives* and *Duties*; the Influence they had upon bringing in the *Scots*, their faculty both of Creating *Fears* and *Jealousies*, and of Emproving them; their miraculous *Discoveries* of *Plots of their own making*: Their *Sermons* were a kinde of *Domestique Intelligence*, and people went to Church as to a Coffee-house, to hear News and Fables. We could shew you likewise how they shifted their *Principles* with their *Interests*, and from 1640. to 1660. how these Mercenaries of the Pulpit complied with every turn of State: But we have rak'd far enough already in this puddle; and it is high time to proceed.

If a man might with a fair *Decorum* call so direfull a *Tragedy* a *Puppet-play*, we should tell you that you have hitherto seen only the *Puppets* of this *Pretended Reformation*; and that they signified nothing of themselves, but as they were guided by the Masters of the *Machine*, from under the Stage, or behinde the Hanging. Now we cannot better lay open this Practice and Confederacy, then by setting forth the admirable Harmony and Concert that appear'd betwixt the *Lay-Caball*, and the *Ecclesiastick*; agreeing in the same method, in the same steps, in the same cause, and in the same Opinions: Only that which was

Exercit

The schismatics did the Faction many good Offices

The Pulpits only spoke as the Caball directed.

matter

Their agree-
ment in Me-
thod and de-
signe.

matter of Policy in Private, was made matter of Conscience and Religion in Publick, First, they finde out Corruptions in the Government; as matter of Grievance, which they expose to the People. Secondly, they Petition for Redress of those Grievances, still asking more and more, till something is deny'd them. And then Thirdly, they take the Power into their own hands of Relieving themselves, but with Oaths and Protestations, that they Act only as Trustees for the Common Good of King and Kingdom. From the pretence of Defending the Government they proceed to the Reforming of it; which Reformation proves in the end to be a Final Dissolution of the Order both of Church and State. This we shall deduce as briefly as we may.

A deduction
of our Late
Troubles.

After the Fatal Pacification at *Perwick*; June 17. 1639. (upon the *Scotts* Insurrection, who kept not any one Article that was there agreed upon) the King called a Parliament, that met *Aug.* 15. 1640, which at first was thought to be well enough disposed, till Sir *Hen. Vane* (then Secretary of State) demanded *Twelve Subsidies*, in stead of *Six*, which put the Commons into such a flame, that upon *May* 4. his Majesty, by the Advice of his Council, thought fit to Dissolve them. In *August* following, the *Scotch Confederates* (holding very good Intelligence with the *English*, entred *England* with an Army, which the King oppos'd with what force he was at that time able to Raise, upon his own Credit. His Majesty, upon this pinch, summons his Great Council of Peers to assemble at *Tork*, *Sept.* 24. where they met accordingly, and advised the King to a Treaty, which was held at *Rippon*, and a Peace was there Concluded and Signed *Oct.* 26. His Majesty being ply'd in the *Interim* with Petitions to call a Parliament, and his work cut out ready to his hand, in the matter of Property and Religion. Those Petitions might have been spar'd, the King having beforehand resolved to call a Parliament, to meet on the 3d of *November* next. They were no sooner met, but they fell upon Grievances and Impeachments, beginning with the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Bishop of *Causterbury*, and so proceeding, till all his Majestys Friends were made Traytors, and the Law it self was found to be the Greatest Grievance.

Exact Collec-
tion pag. 4.

There is a Malignant and Pernicious Designe (says the Remonstrance of Dec. 15. 41.) of subverting the Fundamental Laws, and Principles of Government, upon which the Religion and Justice of this Kingdom is firmly establish'd. And there are certain Counsellors and Courtiers, who for private Ends have engaged themselves to fur-
ther

that the Interest of some Foreign Princes and States, to the Prejudice of his Majesty, and the State at Home. Take notice now, that the King had already (by their own confession) pass'd more Good Bills to the advantage of the Subjects, than had been in many ages. Coat and Conduct-money were all damn'd; The Earl of Strafford beheaded. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Judge Bartlet, and several other Bishops and Judges Impeach'd; two Bills pass'd, the One for a Triennial, the Other for Continuance of the Present Parliament; the Star-Chamber, High-Commission, Courts of the President, and Council in the North taken away, the Council-Table Regulated, the Power of Bishops and their Courts abated; Innovators and Scandalous Ministers terrified by censures; the Forrests and Stannary-Courts brought within compass; and yet after all this, other things pag. 15. of main Importance for the Good of this Kingdom are in Proposition. But their Intention pag. 19. is only to reduce within Bounds that exorbitant Power which the Prelates have assumed; to unburthen mens Consciences of needless and superstitious Ceremonies; Suppress Innovations, and take away the Monuments of Idolatry: To support his Majesties Royal Estate with Honour and Plenty at home, with Power and Reputation abroad; and by their Loyall Affections, Obedience and Service, to lay a sure and lasting Foundation of the Greatness and Prosperity of his Majesty and his Royall Posterity after him. pag. 2. Declaring and Protesting further to this Kingdom and Nation, and to the whole world, pag. 663. in the presence of Almighty God, for the satisfaction of their Consciences, and the discharge of that Great Trust which lies upon them, that no Private Passion or Respect, no evil Intention to his Majesties Person, no designe to the prejudice of his JUST Honour and Authority engaged them to raise Forces, and take up Arms against the Authors of that War, wherein the Kingdom was then Inflam'd.

Let us see now how well they acquitted themselves as to this Profession. Exact Collec-
 on; They put the Kingdom into a Posture of Defence by the Author-
 rity of Both Houses Pag. 96. They require an Obedience to us, Pag.
 112. They Vote it a Breach of privilege, not to submit to any thing,
 as Legal which they declare to be Law. Pag. 114. And declare
 Pag. 150. that upon Certain Appearance, or Grounded Suspicion,
 the Letter of the Law shall be employed against the Equity of
 it; and that the Commander going against its Equity, discharges
 the Commanded from Obedience to the Letter: to shew the busi-
 ness, they make it Treason, upon any presence whatsoever, Pag. 576.
 to assist his Majesty in the War, with Horse, Arms, Place, or Mo-
 nies;

nies; and his Majesty Sums up the Malice of that Declaration in these *Sixth Petitions*.

Six Treasonous
and Seditious
Petitions.
Pag 197, 198.

First, That they have an *Absolute Power of Declaring the Law*; and that whatsoever they declare to be so, ought not to be questioned either by King or people: So that all the Right, and safety of the Prince and Subject, depends upon their pleasure.

Secondly, That no *Presidents* can be Limits to bound their Proceedings; which if so, the Government of the Turk himself is not so Arbitrary.

Thirdly, That a Parliament may dispose of any thing wherein the King or Subject hath a Right for the *publick Good*: (speaking all this while of the remnant of the two Houses.) That they without the King are this Parliament, and Judge of this *publick Good*; and that the Kings Consent is not necessary. So that the Life and Liberty of the Subject, and all the Good Laws made for their security may be dispos'd of and Repeal'd by the Major part of both Houses, at any time, present, and by any ways and means procured so to be, and his Majesty has no Power to Interdict them.

Fourthly, That a Member of either House ought not to be troubled or medled with, for Treason, Felony, or any other crime, without the Cause first brought before them, that they may Judge of the Fact, and their leave obtained to proceed.

Fifthly, That the Sovereign Power resides in Both Houses of Parliament; the King has no negative Voice, and becomes Subject to their Commands.

Lastly, That the Levying of Forces against the Personal Commands of the King (though accompany'd with his presence) is not Levying War against the King: But to Levy War against his Laws and Authority (which they have power to declare and signify) is Levying War against the King; and that Treason cannot be committed against his Person, otherwise then as he is intrusted with the Kingdom, and discharging that Trust; and that they have a power to judge whether he dischargeth it or no. And all this still, for the maintainance of the true Protestant Religion, the Kings JUST Prerogatives, the Laws and Liberties of the Land, and the Priviledges of Parliament, Pag. 281. Nay they will not allow the King any great Officer or Publick Minister, the Power of Treating upon War or Peace, or any matter of State, conferring Honours; nor so much as the Power of appointing any Officer Civil or Military, without leave of the two Houses. The Scale of their wickedness, in One Word, (wherein

(wherein their hireling-Pulpitiers sail in as pat with them as two Tallies) was this. *First*, they fell upon the Kings *Reputation*; they invaded his *Authority* in the next place; after that, they assaulted his *Person*, seiz'd his *Revenue*; and in the Conclusion, most 'mpiously took away his *Sacred Life*: At which rate, in proportion, they treated the Church, and the rest of his Friends, and laid the Government in Confusion.

For the compassing of these accursed ends, they still accommodated themselves to the matter they had to work upon. They had their *Plots*, and false *allarms* for the *people*, their *Trauels* for the *fearful*, their *Covenants* was a Receptacle for all sorts of *Libertines*, and *Malecontents*. But the great difficulty was the gaining of the City: which could not be effected, but by embroyling the Legal, and ancient Constitution of that Government. For there was no good to be done upon the *Imperial Monarchy* of *England*, without first confounding the *Subordinate Monarchy* of the City of *London*, and creating a perfect Understanding betwixt the *Ceball*, and the *Common-Council*: which was very much facilitated, by casting out the *Loyal*, and *Orthodox* Clergy, and teaching all the Pulpits in *London* to speak the same Language with *Margaret Westminster*. But let us consider the Government of the City of *London*, First, in the due, and Regular Administration of it; and then in its corruptions, and by what means it come afterwards to be debauch'd.

The City of *London*, was long before the Conquest, Govern'd The Legal by *Port-Reeves*: and so down to *Richard the First*, who granted them several Priviledges in acknowledgment of the Good Government of the City of *London*. Offices they had render'd him. But the *First Charter* they had for the Choice of their Own *Mayor*, or Government, was confer'd upon them by *King John*, in these words. *Know ye that we have granted to our Barons (or Freemen) of our City of London, that they may chuse unto themselves a Mayor of themselves. And their following Charter of Henry the Third* runs thus. *We grant also unto the said Citizens, that they may yearly present to our Barons of the Exchequer (we or our Heirs not being at Westminster) every Mayor which they shall first chuse in the City of London, to the end they may be by them admitted as Mayor. In a following Charter of Ed. 2. That the Mayor and Sheriffs of the City aforesaid, may be chosen by the Citizens of the said City; according to the Tenour of the Charter of our Progenitors, (sometimes Kings of England) to that end made; and not otherwise. The Charter of Hen. 8. runs to the*

Mayor, Commonalty and Citizens of *London, Conjunction*. The Charter of *Ed. 3.* is thus. *We have granted further for Us and our Heirs, and by this our present Charter confirm'd to the Mayor, and Aldermen of the City aforesaid; that if any customs in the said City hitherto obtained and used, be in any part Difficult or Defective, or any thing in the same newly happening, where before there was no remedy Ordained, and have need of amending, the said Mayor and Aldermen, and their Successours with the assent of the Commonalty of the same City, may add and ordain a remedy meet, faithfull, and consonant to reason, for the Common profit of the Citizens of the same City, as oft, and at such time as to them shall be thought expedient.*

The Charter
of the Lord
Mayor and
Aldermen

We have the rather cited these clauses in favour of the Lawfull Government of the City; in regard that they have been so often, and so earnestly perverted another way. The Charter we see, is directed to the *Lord Mayor and Aldermen* of the City; the Power is granted to them, to propose the making or mending of Laws, as they see occasion; only by the assent, or dissent of the Commons, they are ratified or hindred. And those Laws are only Acts of Common-Council, that is to say, not of the Commonalty alone, but of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, in concurrence. Some there are that mistake the word *Conjunction*, and would have jointly, to be *Equally*: as if one could not have a *greater* interest or Authority, and another a *lesse*, though in a *Joint Commission*. The Power, in short, of summoning, and Dissolving Common-Councils, and of putting any thing to the question, does legally reside only in the Lord Mayor. And the *Active Power* in the *Making* of a Law, and the *Negative Voice* in the *Hindring* of a Law, have been by long Prescription and usage, in the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. And these being *customs of the City*, every *Freeman* is to support and maintain them by the Obligation of his Oath. And in farther proof that the Lord Mayor and Aldermen are by their Charter invested with the Powers aforesaid; We shall need only to enform our selves who they are that in case of any publick Disorder, are made answerable for the Misdemeanour. *Richard the Second* granted a Commission to enquire of all and singular *Errors, Defects, and Misprisions in the City of London, for want of Good Government in the Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen of the said City.* And for the *Errors, Defects, and Misprisions*, in their Government found, they were fin'd 3000. *Mark;* the *Libertie*:

berties of the City seiz'd into the Kings Lands, and a *Warden* appointed to govern the City: till in the end, the Duke of *Glocester* prevail'd upon the King to reinstate them.

We have here given you a short view of the Orderly Government of this glorious City; which is perchance one of the best qualify'd Establishments both for King and People, under the cope of Heaven. We are now coming to lay open by what Arts and Contrivances it came to be corrupted; and in a manner, to lay Violent hands upon it self: Which is a story that may serve some for curiosity, and others for Edification.

The People being extremely discomposed in their minds upon the Apprehension of *Papery* and *Arbitrary Power*; and shaken also in their *Allegiance*, upon a strong Impression that it was a design in their Governours themselves to introduce it. It was no hard matter to inveigle them into *Petitions* for Relief, *Protestations*, *Associations* and *Covenants*, for the Common defence of themselves, in the preservation of their *Liberties* and *Religion*; and into a favourable Entertainment of any plausible pretext even for the Justification of Violence it self: Especially the *Sedition* coming once to be Baptized *Gods cause*, and supported by the Doctrine of *Necessity* and the unsearchable *Instinct* and *Equity of the Law of Nature*: And all this too, Recommended and Inculcated to them by the men of the whole World, upon whose Conduct and Integrity, they would venture their very Souls, Bodies and Estates. Being thus perswaded, and possess'd; the coming in of the *Scots* serv'd them both for a Confirmation of the ground of their fears, and for an Authority to follow that Pattern in their Proceedings; both causes being founded upon the same Bottom, and both Parties united in the same Conspiracy. So that this opportunity was likewise improved by all sorts of ayery Phantastical Plots, frivolous and childish reports, to cherish the Delusion: And now was the time for *Tumults* and *Out-rages* upon publique Ministers, and Bishops, nay and upon the King himself; till by Arms and Injuries they forc'd him away from his Palace, when yet they had the confidence to charge his Sacred Majesty with making War upon his Parliament. But this would not yet do their business, till they got Possession of the *Militia*; which at length they did: the Presses and the Pulpits all this while giving life and credit to their Proceedings.

In what manner the People were wrought upon.

The Act
of Petitions.

EIK. BA.

Upon the tuning of mens minds for *Innovations*, by making them sick of the present state of things; the People were easily prevail'd upon to *Petition* for what they so much wish'd for and desir'd: and this was the second step toward the *Tyranny*, and *Slavery* that ensu'd upon it. The *Rude people* (says his Late Majesty) in his Reflexions upon (TUMULTS) are taught first to *Petition*, then to *Protest*, then to *Dispute*, and at last to *Command*. The Faction made use of Petitions as common House-breakers do of screws; they got in by little and little, and without much noise, and so Riled the Government: Or they did rather like the counterfeit Glasiers, that took down the Glasse at Noonday under colour of mending the Windows, and then Robb'd the House.

To make a right Judgment upon a Popular Petition we should first consider the matter of it. Secondly, the wording of it. Thirdly, the manner of Promoting it. Fourthly, the Probable intent of it. And Lastly, we should do well to consult History and Experience to see what effects such Petitions have commonly produced.

As to the *Subject-Matter* of Popular Petitions, it is either for publick concernment or private; Generall or particular: That is to say concerning the whole Body of the People, or only some part of it. It is either within the Petitioners *Cognizance*, and *Understanding*, or it is not; It varies according to the Circumstances of *Times*, *Occasions*, and *Parties*: and it often falls out, especially where it treats of *Reformation*, that the one half of it is a *Petition*, and the other a *Libell*. The Case of that is purely *Private*, or *Particular*, cannot properly be call'd *Popular*; and so not to our purpose. There are likewise *Mixt Cases* of *Publick*, and *Private*; as in the Calamities of *War*, *Pestilence*, *Fires*, *Inundations* and the like; where *Numerous Subscriptions* are matter of *Attestation*, rather than *Clamour*; on the behalf of such and such *Known*, and *Particular Sufferers*. Now there is a great heed to be given to the Petitions of men both that *Understand* what it is they ask, and whom the Law has made *Competent Judges* of it. But where the Question is, the Redresse of *Grievances* in matter of *State*, the *Complaining* part of the *Petition* makes it only a more *Artificiall Scandall*: Besides the dangerous boldness of Intermeddling in points which they neither have any thing to do withall, nor one jot *Understand*. Such as the *Petition*.

tion of the *Rabble*, in and about *London*, in 1640. again^t *Episcopacy*, *Roor* and *Branch*; the *Posters Petition* in 1641. about the *Asilitia*, being told that it was only a *Petition to Prohibit Watermen from carrying of Burthens*, That of the *Stanford School-bys*, which their *Masters* made them *Subscribe* again^t *Bishops*; Or the *Scottish Petition* in 1637. of *Men Women Children and Servants* (in those very terms) again^t the *Service-Book*. These few instances may suffice to shew the folly (and worfe) of peoples *Rickling* for they know not what.

Next to the *Matter* of the *Petition* we should consider the *wording* of it: For he that asks he knows not what, may ask any thing in the *World*, for ought he knows. And it is not the *humility* of the *Stile*, that can justify the publishing of a *Reproach* upon the *Prince*: Did not *Jacob* take *Amasa* by the *Beard* with the *Right hand* to kiss him, and yet at the same time *strike* him under the *Fifth Rib* that he dy'd? It is no *Breach of Charity*, when a *Multitude* are drawn into a *Petition* blindly to sollicite the *Interests* of *Other men*, to take all *ambiguities* and *Equivocalls* in the worst sense.

And then the *Manner* of promoting these *Petitions* goes a great way. It was a common practice in the *Late Times*, for the confiding *Members* of several *Countries* to draw up *Petitions* to themselves, and Lodg them in the hands of severall of their *Faction* Country-men here in the *City*, to gather *Subscriptions*. Where, and how they plea'd, in the *Name* of their respective *Committee*. Their *Seditious Preachers* (says the *Late King*) and *Agents* are by them, and their *speciall* and particular *Directions* sent into the several *Counties* to insuse *Fears* and *Jealousies* into the minds of our *Good Subjells*, with *petitions* ready drawn by Them, for the *People* to *Sign*; which were yet many times by them changed three or four times before the *delivery*; upon accidents, or occurrences of *either*, or both *Houses*. And when many of our poor *deceived People* of our severall *Counties* have come to the *City* of *London*, with a *Petition* so framed, altered, and *Signed*, as aforesaid; that *Petition* hath been *Suppress'd*, and a *New* one ready drawn hath been put into their hands, after their coming to *Town* (inasmuch as few of the *Company* have known what they petition'd for) and hath been by them presented to *One* or *Both* our *Houses* of *Parliament*, as that of *Bedfordsh.* and *Buckinghamsh.*; With these *Petitions*; and amongst the rest that of *Hartfordshire*; which took notice of matter agreed on or dissented from the night before the *delivery*. Which was hardly time enough to get so many thousand hands, and to travel to *London*.

Many Petition for they know not what.

The manner of Promoting Petitions.

Ec. Coll. 136. Fobbd Petitions impos'd upon the Nation by the Faction.

London on that Errand. These were not the *Petitions* of the *Subscribers*, but of those that set them on; who did in effect, but *Petition* the People to *Petition* them again; and that which was taken and imposed as the sense of the Nation, was only the *Project* and *Dislate* of the *Caball*. Only with the *Porters*, they thought they had sign'd a *Petition* against the *Watermen*, and it prov'd to be against the *Government* (so innocent were the greater part of the *Petitioners*.)

The intent of
Popular Peti-
tions is to be
Consider'd.

Confederate
Petitions are
but the Pro-
logue to Con-
federate Pra-
ctises.

Never satis-
fy'd.

Ex. Co. 2.
p. 148.

Now as to the *Intent* of those *Petitions*, since we cannot enter into the hearts of men, we are allow'd to judge of the *Tree* by the *Fruit*. And we must distinguish too betwixt the *Intention* of the *Dislainers*, and that of the *Subscribers*: the *Former* *Con-
triving* with an *Ill Intention* that which the *Latter* *Executed* with a *Good One*. Let the *Matter* of the *Petition* be never so fair, yet (as was said before) if it be a business out of the *Petitioners* *sphere*, and capacity, either to *meddle in*, or to *understand*; it is a *suspicious way* of *Proceeding*. Such were the *Confederate Petitions* of *England* and *Scotland* for a *Parliament* in 1641. which were but a *Prologue* to the *Opening* of the *Subsequent Confederacy* against the *Government*: When the *Petitions* that follow'd, sufficiently expounded the meaning of the *Former*. They *Petition'd* against *Ecclesiastical Courts*, *Ceremonies*, *Scandalous Ministers*, *Bishops Votes* in *Parliament*, and *Episcopacy* it self, against *evil Councillors*, *Monopolies*, *Corruptions of State*, *Courts of Oppression* and *Innumerable Grievances*; Were they not gratify'd in all this? and did not those very *Concessions* make them still *Bolder* and *Bolder*? More and more *Greedy* still, and more *Insatiable*? They must have the *Militia* too, the *Command* of the *Kings Towns*, and *Forts*, and put the *Kingdom* into a posture of defence themselves. They cry for *Justice upon Delinquents*; the very *Rabble* *demanding* the *Names* of those in the *House of Peers* that would not consent to the *Proposition* made by the *House of Commons* concerning the *Forts*, *Castles*, and the *Militia*, (when it was rejected by a *Major Part* twice.) And declaring them for *Enemies* to the *Common-wealth*: *Loyall* and *Legall Petitions* being still rejected, and the *sedition* countenanc'd: In a *Word*; they grew higher and higher, till they brought the *King* to the *Block*; which was no more then a *Natural Conclusion* from such premises. And the *First Petition* (how plausible soever) was the *Foundation* of all our *Ruines*. These *Petitions* you must know, do not ask to *Obtain*, but to be *Deny'd*; and only seek an *Occasion*

to

to pick a quarrel; and if they cannot find it, they'll make it. If this be not provided for, they tell us, *It is the Case of many a Thousand in England, and great troubles will come of it*: The very *Style* of them is *Alarm*ing; and certainly nothing can be more Evident than their evil *Intention*. There's Malice in the *Publication* of them too; beside that by the *Number* of the *Subscriptions*, they take an *Estimate* of the *Strength* of their *Party*; which is their safest way of *Assault*.

The Last Section under the Head of *Popular Petitions* is the *Effect* of them: which in our Case was no less than the destruction of *Three Kingdoms*; and let the *Matter* be what it will, the *Method* is a most necessary Link in the chain of a Rebellion. And it is the securest experiment too, of attempting a Commotion, being the gentlest of Political Inventions, for feeling the pulse of the People. If it *sinks*, the work is half done; and if *Not*, 'tis but so much Breath Lost, and the *Design* will be kept Cold. But may not *Men* *Petition* (you will say) and *Petition* for a good thing? Yes, if the thing be *Simply Good*, the *Petitioners*, *Competent Judges* of it, and every man keep himself to his *Own Post*, I see no hurt in't. But for the *Multitude* to interpose in Matters of *State*; as in the *Calling* or *Dissolving* of Parliaments; *Regulation* of *Church Government*; or in other like Cases, of *Doubtful* and *hazardous Event*, wherein they have no *Skill* at all, nor any *Right* of *Intermeddling*; why may not 20000. *Plow-Jobbers* as well *Subscribe* a *Petition* to the *Lord-Mayor* of *London* for the *Calling* of a *Common-Council*? Or as many *Porters* and *Carmen* here in *London* put in for the better government of the *Herring-Trade* in *Yarmouth*? every jot as reasonable would *This* be as the *Other*. And that's not all neither, for the *Thing* they take to be a *Cardinal*, proves many times to be a *Poyson*: and after *Subscription* they are yet to learn the very *meaning* of the *Petition*: And then the *Numerous Subscriptions* prove it manifestly to be a *Combination*: For the *Number* of *Hands* adds nothing to the *Weight* of the *Petition*; and serves only for *Terrour* and *Clamour*. It is a kinde of an odd way of putting the *Question*: as who should say, *Sir, May we be so bold?* and the *sufferance* or *Patience* of the *Prince* seems to answer them, *Yes, you may*: and so they go on.

The Effect of
Popular Petitions.

Upon what
Terms they
may be allowed.

Let every man
keep to his
own post.

The Transition is so natural, from a *Popular Petition* to a *Tumult*,

A Natural
Transition
from a *Popu-
lar Petition* to
a Tumult.
EIK. BA.
upon tumults.

Es. C. 532.

The Insolencies
of the Rab-
ble up at the
Parliament.

PAG. 533.

Upon the Cl-
ry.

And upon the
King himself.

PAG. 538.

The first Tu-
mults punish-
ed by the muts.

mult, that the *One* is but the *Hot Fit* of the other; and little more in effect than a *more earnest way of Petitioning*. By these (says his Late Majesty) *must the House be purg'd, and all Rotten Members (as they please to call them) cast out. By these the Obstinacy of men resolv'd to discharge their Consciences must be subdu'd; by these, all Faction, seditious and schismatical Proposals of Government Ecclesiastical or Civil must be back'd and abett'd, till they prevail. God forbid (says Mr. Pym) that the House of Commons should proceed in any way to dishearten people to obtain their just desires in such a way. It would fill a Volume to tell the Insolencies of the Rabble upon Lambeth-House upon the Persons of the Archbishop of York and all the Loyall Members of both Houses; their Outcries for Justice upon Laud and Strafford, under the Conduct of Ven and Malwaing: Their Exclamations, No Bishops, No Popish Lords; Proclaiming several of the Peers by their Names to be evil and rotten-hearted Lords: Their besetting of Sheriff Garners House, when the King Din'd there, crying out, Priviledges of Parliament; their affronting the Lord Mayor (Sir Richard Gourny) and tearing his Chain from about his Neck, and using Sir Thomas Gordiner (the Recorder) little better; following them with Reproaches, Remember the PROTESTATION. Nay the King himself had his Coach stopt, and Walkers Seditious Libel, To your Tents O Israel, thrown into it in the street. This was upon the dispute about the Five Members, when at their Return from Westminster they made a stand at White-hall-gate, bawling out, that they would have no more Porters Lodge, but speak with the King when they pleas'd. About a hundred Lighters and Long-Boats were set out by water, laden with Sacres, Murthering-Pieces, and other Ammunition, dress'd up with Mast-clothes and Streamers as ready for fight; calling out as they past by Whitehall Windows, what's become of the King? whither's he gone? The Tower of London and Hall being both besieged at the same time. Now what was the End of These Tumults, but over and above the Guilt and Calamities of a Civil War, a Vengeance in the Conclusion upon the Heads of all the false Abettors of them? These very men that first by Tumults forc'd away the King from Whitehall, and their Fellow-members from attending their Duty at Westminster, were themselves afterward cast out, by succeeding Tumults, under the Character of Persons Disaffected, (the Independents at that time being too hard for the Presbyterians) and the City too was whipst with its own rod. No man is so blinde (says the Late King) as*

not to see herein the Hand of Divine Justice; They that by Tumults, first occasioned the Raising of Armies, must now be chastened by their own Army for new Tumults. In fine, a Tumult is a seditious action in Hot Blood; and only accounted the less Criminal, for that there is not in it the Malice Preconce of a Rebellion. If it succeeds, the Principals of the Faction form it into a Conspiracy; but if it miscarries, it passes only as That did in Scotland, 1637. for an Outrage of the Rabble.

R.I.K. BA.
Upon the Dis-
solution of
the Parlia-
ment Army,
and City.

Where many People agree in the Desiring of the same thing, they seldom fail of Engaging afterwards towards the Procuring of it; and so the Project advances, from Petition to Protestation, or Covenant; the One Leading so naturally to the Other, that the Late Popular Petition was no sooner set on foot, but it was immediately followed upon the Heel with the Proposall of an Association, pretending the Practice of 27. Eliz. for their War-rant. It would be endless to run through all the Leagues, Covenants, Bonds, Protestations, Engagements, Oaths, &c. of the Late times; and as needless to set forth the Histories of the Miseries they brought upon us, after so many Narratives and Discourses already Published, upon that Subject: So that our Business shall be rather to discover the Imposture of those Practices, than to dilate upon the Story.

Of Oaths,
Covenants,
and Associa-
tions.

All Popular Leagues, without the Authority of the Supreme Magistrats are to be lookt upon as Conspiracies; but when they come once to bear up in Defence of it, the Case is little better than a State of Actual Rebellion. The Pretence of the Late Engagements was only to assert and Compass the Ends of the foregoing Petitions: And it was the Master-piece of the Faction to keep the Vulgar in the dark, by disguising the Drift, and the Scope, both of the One, and the Other. It was by this following train of thoughts that the Multitude in 1641. were Egg'd on into the foulest crimes, and the Heaviest calamities Imaginable.

The Leagues
of Subjects
among them-
selves are
Conspiracies.

The Lord blese us (say they) we are all running into the French Government, and Popery: the Courtiers and Prelates will be the Undoing of us all; the King is a good man enough of himself, if he had but Good people about him; but he's so damnably led away by Popish Counsellors; I would to God he would but call a Parliament and hearken to their advice. But why should we not press him to't; and serve out all these Caterpillars from about him? 'Tis true, the King can do no wrong, but his Ministers may: and yet the King is bound by

The delusions
of 1641.

the Law, as well as We. Had we not better get hands to a Partition, and join to stand by one another as One Man, for the preservation of our Liberties, and Religion, than stand gaping with our fingers in our Mouth till all is lost? Little did these people imagine all this while that Death was in the Pot, and that instead of the way to Peace and happiness they were then in the High-Road to Destruction. And This they might easily enough have discover'd if they had but diligently consider'd the *Opinions* and *Professions* of the Heads of these *Covenanters* and *Subscribers*; among which, there was not one man of a hundred that was not a *known* and a *word* Enemy both to Church and State. But they plung'd themselves like *Curians*, into the Gulph, as Devotes for the mistaken preservation of their Countrey. But the delusion will better appear, by applying only *Common Reason* to the *Imposture* it self: And first, let us consider their *Protestation* of May, 1641.

The Protest.
1641.

I. A. B. do in the presence of Almighty God, promise, vow, and protest to maintain and defend, as far as lawfully I may, with my Life, Power, and Estate, the True Reformed Protestant Religion, except in the Doctrine of the Church of England, against all Popery and Popish Innovations within this Realm, contrary to the said Doctrine, and according to the Duty of my Allegiance to his Majesties Royall Person, Honour, and Estate; as also the Power, and Priviledges of Parliament, the lawfull Rights and Liberties of the Subjects, &c. Now as the whole Pretext was plausible, so the saving clause in it [as far as lawfully I may] made it go down without much scruple.

The Jugg'te
of the Cove-
nant.

The Solemn League and Covenant of 1643: (which was the Band of the Confederacy of the Two Nations) had the same salvo in it too, and the very same specious pretences for the Protestant Religion, the Honour of the King, the Priviledges of Parliament, and the Liberty of the Subject: only enlarged to the setting up of the *Scottish Discipline and Government*, the *Extermination of Prelacy and Popery*; and the bringing of *Delinquents to punishment*: So that from the maintaining of the Government, they are now come to the Dissolving of it; and from the Defense of their own Rights and Liberties, they are advanced to the Invading of other peoples. We might reflect upon a world of *Solapisms*, *Illogicks*, *Contradictions* and *Disparities*; both in the *Words* and *Things* of this *Protestation* and *Covenant*: As the *Nollity* of any Engagements entered into, *Contrary to Law*, the *Abuse* of the Govern-
ment,

ment, without the consent of his Majesty in Parliament; The perjurious Fraud of Swearing in One sense, in opposition to the Known Intent of the Imposer in another; beside the Inconsistency of these Vows with Themselves, and the Contradictions they bear to One another. Wherefore we shall rather detect the Cheat in the Thing it self, and the wonderfull Rashness of the Undertakers, then play the Casuist upon the Question.

Take the Protestation as it runs with that Qualifying Clause in The Protestation an Oath of Policy not Conscience. It [as far as lawfully I may] and there is hardly any thing more in it then what a man is oblig'd to do without it: So that without some Mystery in the bottom, the thing appears in it self to be wholly Idle and impertinent, and not answerable to the solemnity of making it a National Duty. And then the Imposition was in it self an Usurpation of Sovereign Power. The Covenant (I must confess) was Ranker, having an Auxiliary Army of about 20000 Scots to second it. But was ever any thing in appearance more harmless, Loyal or Conscientious, then this Protestation? and if the fellow of it were now in agitation, how would the Town Ring, of any Church of England Man for a disguised Papist, that should refuse to take it! And yet what ensu'd upon the peoples joyning in this officious piece of misguided Zeal and Duty? When they were once In, there was no longer any regard had to the Grammar or Liberal Construction of it, but to the List of those that took it, as the Discriminating Test of the Party; They that contriv'd it, did likewise Expound it: and every man was bound implicitly to believe That only to be Lawfull, which they told him was so, without being allowed the liberty of Judging of his own Actions. He that looks into the Records of that Revolution, will finde the Contributions, Subscriptions, Loans, Levies, and briefly the highest violences of the War, the boldest attempts upon the Honour and Person of the King, the Priviledges of Parliament, and the Property of the Subject, to be charg'd at the foot of the account, upon the Tye of the Solemn League and Protestation; and every man bound, upon the forfeiture of his Life, Liberty, and Estate, to observe it, in their sense. Over and above the Iniquity of these Oaths, how Ridiculous is it for every vulgar Fellow to swear to the doing of he knows not what, and the maintaining of the Priviledges of Parliament, which no man living understands? We shall conclude this Point, with the words of the late King [Considerations by way of Solemn League and Covenants, are the Common Road to all Factions

Fallons and Powerfull Perturbations of State or Church.] And our Covenanters did but write after the Copy of the Holy League of France.

*Impostures upon the Po-
p.e.*

The people being now prepar'd for any mutinous Impressions, poyson'd in their affections to the Government, besotted into the apprehension of Remote and Invisible dangers, and United in the Resolution of Defending their Rights against all Opposers; the Designe would have been there at a stand, for want of matter to work upon, if the Caball had not fed, and entertain'd their fears and Jealousies, with stories of Plots and Discoveries nearer hand, where itill the Parliament and the City were in the greatest hazzard. One while the Northern Army was coming up, and strong Guards appointed upon all Passes within 20. miles of London, and then comes a Letter to the Close Committee, of a Conspiracy to seize the Earl of Argile, and some other Lords in *Edenburgh*: And upon This, an Order is presently issu'd out to the Justices of *Middlesex*, *Surry*, and *South-wark*, to secure the City, by strong Watches; because (says the Order) the mischievous Designs and Conspiracies lately discover'd in Scotland against some Principall and Great men there, by some of the Popish Faction, gives just occasion to suspect that they may maintain Correspondency Here, and practice the like mischief. They had a Touch now and then at the mighty preparations of France and Denmark, for the invading of the Nation, and assisting the King to govern by an Arbitrary Power. And then the Army under ground at *Ragland Castle* was a terrible thing, and miraculously discovered by an Inn-keepers Servant at *Rosse*, to Alderman *Altons Coachman*. These whimses were but so many approaches toward the Militia; and they are so extravagant, that the man that was upon the place, and can witness the effect of them, has hardly the face yet to make the Report.

Adasse Alarm. Upon *Twelfth Night* 1641. the City was allarm'd at Mid-night with a Report of 1500 Horse that design'd to surprize the City. Whereupon a matter of 50000 men were presently in Arms, and the Women at work in the streets, with *Joyne-stools*, *Empty Cask*, and other Lumber, to interrupt their passage.

The good wo-
man could
not sleep for
fear of the
Armed gun-

Upon the Kings making Sir *Tho. Lamford*, Lieutenant of the Tower, the good women of the City could not sleep for fear of the Guns. But yet without any Objection, his Majesty presently puts in Sir *John Byron*. They could make no exception against him, till at last (as my Authour has it) Lieutenant *Hob-*
ler,

er, the *Aqua-Vite-man*, and *Nicholson the Chandler*, enform the Common-Council, that since he came to L^t Lieutenant, there was nothing to do at the *Mint*, though it was made appear that the *Mint* had more business since this Gentleman was *Lieutenant*, then ever it had in so short a time before: But their Trade being in the Retail of *Brooms, Candles, and Mustard* their Ignorance in the other point might be the better excus'd.

In Aug. 1643: upon a Vote for sending Propositions of Peace to the King, the very next day there were Papers scatter'd, and posted up and down the City; requiring all persons well-affected to rise as One man, and come to the House of Commons next morning; for that 20000 Irish Rebels were landed. And this was the News of the Pulpits next day; when, (though Sunday) a Common-Council was call'd late at Night, and a Petition there fram'd against Peace. This Petition was next morning recommended to the Commons by Penington, then Mayor, with a Rabble at his heels, declaring that the Lords Propositions for Peace would be destructive to Religion, Laws, and Liberties, and that if they had not a good answer they would be there again the next day, with double the Number.

A Tumult & fear of a Peace.

We must not forget the design upon the Life of Mr. Pim by a Plague Plaister, that was wrapt up in a Letter and sent him, which Letter he put in his pocket for Evidence, though he threw away the Plaister. And there was another discovery that came as wonderfully to light: a Taylor in a Ditch in Finsbury-Fields over-heard two men talking of a Plot upon the Life of my Lord Say, and some other Eminent Members of both Houses; and so the Design never took effect.

Mr. Pym Plague plain-ly.

A Taylor discovers a Plot against my Lord Say.

At this rate were the people gul'd from day to day, with fresh and palpable *Impositions*; never was any Nation certainly under such an *Absorption of Credulity*, and *Blindness*; but as the Cause was founded in *Hypocrisy*, so it was by *Forgery* to be supported. And yet these *Legendary Tales* stood the Faction in very good stead; by authorizing the People now and then to betake themselves to their Arms, and to put themselves upon their Guard; which did, by degrees, let them into the Command of the *City Militia*; out of which Egg (as one says) came forth the *Outgrowth of Rebellion*: Thus was poor England frighted out of a *Dream of Dangers* into cutting of *Throats in Earnest*: Out of a fear of *Papery*, into a prostitution even of *Christianity*; and out of an apprehension of *Tyranny* into a most despicable state of *Slavery*.

The people impos'd upon by ridiculous Stories and Impositions.

No foresight
wanting in the
Faction.

Slavery. The Change of Government now in agitation, had been long in Project; and no foresight wanting for the furtherance of the design, None so diligent at the *Military-Yard*, or *Artillery-Garden*, as the zelots of the *Faction*; and upon the Vacancy of any considerable Employment there, who but they to put in for the Command? Nor were they less industrious to screw themselves into the Bench of *Aldermen* and *Common-Council*, inasmuch that a Motion was made there (with an Eye to two *biggends*, and *Fanatical Captains*,) that *Honest men*, (for that's their Name when they are their own Godfathers) might bear the Magistracy, and the City the expence. But what did all this amount to, without a *Fond of Men, Money, Arms, and Ammunition*, to carry on the Work? So that their business was now to make sure of the CITY, as the only means of their supply: But that, they found could never be brought about, without a *Lord Mayor* for their Turns; Or else reducing the *Mayor* and *Aldermen* to a Level with the *Commons*: and establishing a firm correspondence betwixt *Westminster*, and *Guild-hall*, the *One* to *Conspire*, and the *Other* to *Execute*. So that this was the thing they pitch'd upon, and the manner of their proceeding was as follows.

The Faction
could do nothing without
the City.

The Practices
of the Faction
upon the
Common-
Council.

Having *Pharisaically* and *Invidiously* divided the people into *Two Parties*; *Themselves* forsooth, the *Godly Party*, and the *Friends of the Government*, the *Papists*: a little before *St. Thomas's day* 1641. (when the City chuses their *Common-Council*) they calumniated the *Old Common-Council men*, as men too much inclining to the *Court*; sticklers for *Episcopacy*, and the *Common-prayer*; and not at all zealous for *Religion*, (just as we cry out against *Papists*, and *Penitents* now adays;) by this practice, they worn'd out *Honest men*, and chose *Schismatics* into their places: and instead of *Sir George Berryon*, *Mr. Draly*, *Mr. Clark*, *Mr. Gardiner*; *Deputy Withers*, *Mr. Cornwaght*, and other *Loyall*, and *considerable Citizens*; they took in *Fault the Traitor Perkins*, (my *Lord Say's Taylor*,) and Others of the same Stamp and Value.

The Com-
mon Council
impos'd upon
by the Faction
beyond pre-
cedent.

Now though the *Election* be on *St. Thomas day*, they are never *Return'd* yet before the *Munday after Twelfth*; nor allow'd to *Act as Common-Council men* till the *Indemnities* of their *Election* be *Return'd* from the *War-doynt* *Impos'd* to the *Town-Clerk*; and a *Warrant* issu'd from the *Lord Mayor* to the *Sergeants of the Chancery* to *Summon* them. But the Faction however made bold to dis-
pence

pence with these *Tumults*, (though the constant *Rule* and *Custom* of the City) and a *Common-Council* being held *December* 31. 1641. by the *Kings Express Order*, all that Gang of the *New Choice*, thrust themselves in, and took their places with the *Old*. This Intrusion was opposed by several, but out of respect to a *Message* from his Majesty which was then brought them by the Lord *Newburgh*, complaining of *Tumults* about *White-hall*, and *Westminster*, and recommending to the care of the City, the preventing of any further disorders: the question was let fall for the present; and the Court apply'd themselves to dispatch an answer to his Majesty; which was in effect, an *acknowledgment* of his *gracious Goodness* exprest to the City; the *Courts* disavowing of the *Tumults*; their promise of doing their best for the future to *prevent*, or *suppress* them, and their humble desire that whosoever should be found guilty of them, might be brought to condign punishment.

On the *Last* of *December*, the House of Commons under pretence of finding themselves in danger, sent to the King for a *Ex. Cal. 44.* *Guard*, but it must be a *Guard* out of the City of London, and to be commanded by the *Earl of Essex*. To which *Message*, his *Ex. Cal. 45.* Majesty offer'd them, *Jas. 3.* a *Guard* of his own appointment for their security: But this Trick would not pass upon the King: so that they were forc'd to do their business another way.

Upon the *Fifth* of *Jan.* another *Common-Council* was call'd by The King the *Kings Order*, when his Majesty was pleas'd, in person to acquaint the Court with the Reasons of his demanding the five *Members* the day before: admonishing them not to harbour or protect those men in the City. *Fenke* and his new Brethren (contrary to all Right or President) were got in again, and there he most audaciously affronted his Majesty with a Discourse of *fears* and *Jealousies*, *Privileges* of *Parliament*, &c. the King only replying in effect, that they were dangerous men, and that they should have a *Lay at Tryal*.

On the same day (being *Wednesday*) the House adjourn'd till the *Tuesday* following, and Order'd a Committee to set next morning at *Guildhall*; taking upon themselves little less than Sovereign Power. The Committee met at *Brookers Hall*, where the *Five Members* met, under the Guard of the City-Train'd-Bands, where they pass'd such Votes of *Privilege* as never any Age heard of before, extending it even to the *Exemplary* and *Mitigating* of *Treason* in *fact*.

The Committee
takes Vote at
Graves-Hall.

On Saturday, Jan. 8. upon a Debate for the safe meeting of the Five Members at Westminster the Tuesday following; the Result was, That the Sheriffs of London should and might raise a Guard of the Train'd-Bands, for the Defence of the King and Parliament; and that they might warrantably march out of their Liberties. A Root of Sea-men offering their Service by water, as the Other by Land. This Subject set all the Puritan Pulpits on work to inflame the People against their Sovereign in favour of the Five Members.

The King
withdraws
from London.

Upon the fatal 10th of January, the King was forc'd to withdraw from London, which was then left at the Mercy of the Faction, and that very day, the Indentures of the Election were Return'd: Upon all Questions about These Elections, the Decision was formerly in the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen; but by the Violence and Importunity of these New Intruders, it is left to a Committee of the Common-Council, (being the Committee a fo for the safety of the City (so call'd): This Committee was their first approach toward the Militia; and then follow'd another: for putting the City into a Posture of Defence, consisting of Six Aldermen and Twelve Commoners, most of them of the New Cutt; and 300*l.* per annum allow'd to Skippon, as an assistant to the Committee.

They settle
the Militia.

Having already modell'd the Common-Council to their liking they furnish themselves with all sorts of Military Provisions; augment the Train'd-Bands, from 6000. to 8000. the Six Aldermen are made Colonels, and the Committee for the Posture of Defence, are to choose their Officers; the authority of Summoning Common Councils is taken away from the Lord Mayor, and lodg'd in people of the Faction; and whensoever they'l have One call'd, the Lord Mayor must obey, without so much as asking a Reason for't.

And strip the
Mayor of his
privileges.

They took away his Power also of Dissolving them, and kept him to his seat, till they thought fit to discharge him.

And again, whereas all Proposals were formerly offer'd to the Court, and all Questions put by the Recorder from the Lord Mayor; when the Faction had anything to propound, wherein the Lord Mayor would neither Command the Recorder, nor the Recorder act without the Lord Mayor, Ven, Pennington and Vassel help'd them out at a dead lift, with an Order from the House of Commons.

And finally, they brought the Orderly Constitution of the City

ty-Government to a *Level*, confounding *Mayor, Aldermen* and *Commons* in the Bleeding of their Votes.

The *Schismatiques* have now got the *Riches* and the *Strength* The *Part* of the *City* in a manner at their own Disposal, For if the *major* *Members* of the *City* part of the *Common-Council* may *Call, Continue* and *Disolve* the Court at pleasure, put what *Questions* they list, and Determine all things by a *Plurality of Votes*, there needed little more than a *Pack't Common-Council* to do their business.

Let us consider now the Harmony betwixt the *Two Junto's* of The *Commons* *Peition* *about* *the Militia*. *Westminster*, and the *City*. The *Commons Jan. 26. Petition'd* his Majesty about the *Tower, Forts*, and the *Militia*: to which his Majesty returns them a *Refusal, Jan. 28.* in the most obliging *Ex Coloss.* Terms imaginable, telling them, *that he did not doubt, that his having granted more then ever King had granted, would ever persuade his House of Commons to ask more then ever Subjects had ask'd.*

About the beginning of *Feb.* there was held a *Common-Council*; which sat till One in the Morning. When the Court was quite weary, and tir'd out, *Ven* took that Opportunity of presenting an Order of the *Commons*, desiring a return of the Names of those Persons whom the *City* intrusted with the *Militia* of *London*. The Court was a little surpriz'd at it; but yet being desirous to be gone, and considering whatsoever pass'd at One Council was in course to be debated at another, sent the Names of the *Committee* for the *Posture of Defence*, in return to the House's Order. By this fetch, the *Lord Mayor, Sheriffs*, and *Court of Aldermen*, were understood to have voluntarily relinquish'd their Own Interest, and lodg'd the Power of the *Militia* in the *Committee* for the *Posture of Defence*, whereof the *Major Part* was wholly at the Devotion of *Ven*, and his complices. At the next *Common-Council*, upon reading the Orders of the last meeting, some of the *Aldermen* *Protested* against them; as having no thought, of either shutting out the *Mayor*, or making the *Committee* so *absolute* as they found the two Houses had done. Whereupon it was mov'd that the Houses might be *Petition'd* to reverse the Order. But that being carry'd in the *Negative*, *Ven* produces another Order for the adding of *Skippon* to the *Committee* for the *Militia*, which was carry'd without much Difficulty.

The Govern-
ment of the
City off out-
ed

The Court of *Aldermen* reflecting upon the Indignities cast upon the Mayor and *Government* of the City, Petition'd the House apart from the Commons, that the Mayor and Sheriffs might be nominated *of the Committee*, but to no purpose; For they knew Sir *Richard Gourny* was a person of too much Honour and Loyalty, to comply with their Designs. After this Repulse, several of the most Eminent Citizens, both for Worth and Estates, Petition'd the *Two Houses* in their own Names for the Removall of That Scandal, but there was no relief to be had; and they were barbarously treated for their pains over and above. Sir *George Benyon* (to his Honour) as the framor and chief Promoter of that most reasonable Petition, was fin'd 3000^l. *Disfranchis'd* in the City, never to bear Office in the Kingdom, to be Committed for two year to Colchester Goal, and at the end of the Term to give security for his good Behaviour. *Merits the bare Recital of This Inhumane Insolence should turn the Blood of every honest Citizen.*

The Tyranny
of this Com-
mittee.

This Committee was now becom the masters of the Militia; they remov'd Sir *Richard Gourny*, and put *Pennington* into his place; they make *Ordinances* to pass for Laws, and *Rebellion*, to be a point of Conscience, they persecute the *Orthodox* Clergy, Oppress their Fellow Citizens, and the whole Nation; and where they have not *Credis* to borrow, they make use of their *Power* to *Take away*, living upon the Spoil, without any regard to the Laws either of God or Man. And to shew the world that as the Faction had subverted the Government of the City, so they intend to perpetuate the slavery: See as follows.

Vicesimo Octavo, Februarii 1648.

*An Act of the Commons of England in Parliament Assembled,
For Removing Obstructions in the Proceedings of the
Common-Council of the City of London.*

THe Commons of England, in Parliament assembled, do Enact, and Ordain, and be it Enacted and Ordained by the Authority aforesaid, that in all times to come, the Lord Mayor of the said City of London, sooften and at such time as any 10. or more of the Common-Council-men do by Writing under their hands, request or desire him thereunto, shall summon, assemble, and hold a Common-Council, and if at any time being so required or desired he shall fail therein, then the ten persons, or more making such request or desire, shall have Power, and are hereby Authorized by Writing under their hand, to summon or cause to be summoned, to the said Council, the Members belonging thereunto, in as ample manner as the Lord Mayor himself usually hath done, and that the Members appearing upon the same Summons, being of the Number of 40. or more, shall become a Common-Council. And that each Officer whose duty it shall be to warn in, and summon the Members of the said Council, shall perform the same from time to time upon the Warrant or Command of ten persons or more so authorized as aforesaid: And it is further Enacted and Ordained, by the authority aforesaid, that in every Common-Council hereafter to be assembled, the Lord Mayor of the said City for the time being, or in his absence, such Locum tenens as he shall appoint, and in default thereof, the Eldest Alderman present if any be, and for want of such Alderman or in case of his neglect, or refusal therein, then any other person Member of the said Council whom the Commons present in the said Council shall chuse, shall be from time to time President or Chairman of the said Council; and shall cause and suffer all things offered to or proposed in

the said Council to be fairly and orderly debated, Put to the Question, Voted, and Determined, in and by the same Council, as the Major part of the Members present in the said Council shall desire or think fit; and in every Vote which shall pass, and in the other Proceedings of the said Council, neither the Lord Mayor nor Aldermen, joynt, or Separate, shall have any negative or distinct Voice, or Vote, otherwise then wit^h, and among, and as part of the rest of the Members of the said Council, and in the same manner as the other Members have, and that the absence and withdrawing of the Lord Mayor, or Aldermen from the said Council, shall not stop or prejudice the proceedings of the said Council. And that every Common-Council which shall be held in the City of London, shall sit and continue so long as the Major part of the Council shall think fit, and shall not be dissolved, or adjourned but by and according to the Order or Consent of the Major part of the same Council: And that all the Votes and Acts of the said Common-Council which was held 13 January last, after the departure of the Lord Mayor from the same Council, and also all Votes and Acts of every Common Council hereafter to be held, shall be from time to time duly registered as the Votes and Acts of the said Council have used to be done, in time past. And be it further Enacted and Ordained by the Authority aforesaid, that every Officer which shall sit in the said Council, shall be from time to time chosen by the said Council, and shall have such reasonable allowance, or Salary, for his pains and service therein, as the Council shall think fit: And that every such Officer shall attend the said Common-Council, and that all Acts and Records and Register Books belonging to the said City, shall be extant, to be perused and searched into by every Citizen of the said City, in the presence of the Officer who shall have the Charge of keeping thereof, who is hereby required to attend for the same purpose.

Hen. Scobel. Cler. Parliament.

Take

Take notice, that the *Vote of Commons-Council* in the *Act* above-recited, of *Jan. 13. 1648.* when the *Lord Mayor* went off, and dismissed the *Court*, was a *Treafonous Vote*, for the speedy bringing of the *King* to *Justice*.

You have here the State of the *New-Model'd Government* of *How we were* the *City* (and effectually of the whole *Nation*) together with *destruction, and* the Methods of *Hypocrisy* and State that brought us into that miserable Condition. And what were they but *Canting Sermons, Popular Petitions, Tumults, Associations, Impositions, and Dissatisfied Commons-Councils*? We have likewise set forth how these Advantages were gain'd, with their Natural Tendency to the Mischiefs they produc'd. And who were they that promoted and brought all these Calamities upon us, but men of *desperate* *By whom.* *Fortunes and Principles, Male-content, broken Tradesmen, Cobblers, Thimble-makers, Dray-men, Officers,* and a world of this sort of a cople, whose Names are every where up and down in the History of our late Confusions; Men of *Ambition and Interest*, and agreeing in nothing else but an United Disaffection both to *Church and State.* The contrivers of all these mischiefs (says his Late Majesty) know what overtures have been made by them; and *Ex Cid 134.* *with what Importunity for Offices and Preferments, what great Services should have been done for us; and what other Undertakings were* (even to have sav'd the Life of the *Earl of Strafford*) if we would confer such Offices upon them. And *Henry Martin* very Honestly blurted it out, *Apox. & your surviving for Religion* (says he) *we fight for Liberty:* And all their bawling to put other people out of Employment was only to get themselves In. Thus they went on till the Government was made a Prey to the Faction; and the deluded Multitude too late made sensible of their Errors.

Methinks the People of *England*, after all this Experience, *We must be* should be both *Wiser and Honefter*, then by treading the same *mad to en-* steps over again, to re-engage themselves in the same *engage in New* *Miseries* and *Crimes*: Or if both *Conscience and Common-Prudence* should have quite forsaken us, the very *shame*, methinks of being fool d *Troubles.* over again the same way, should move us to bethink our selves. Or if that very *shame* were lost too, it was so *Base, so Scandalous* a *Servitude*; we were *Slaves* to the Meanest of the *Rabble*: And our *Masters* were a greater Infamy to us then our *Fetters*; the very *Ignominy* cannot but work an *Insurrection* in any thing that wears the Soul of an *Englishman*.

THIS

The Factions
Ingratitude.

This Paper and occasion will not bear the tracing of their *Ingratitudes* and *Tyrannies* at length; but in short; how barbarously did they treat even their Idoliz'd *House of Commons*; their *Assembly*; nay their *Covenanting Brethren* the *Scots*; when they follow'd them from *Newark* even to their Borders with a body of Horse at their Heels? their *Generall*, and the *Army* that set them up: in a most Eminent manner the City of *London*, though (as the Faction order'd it) the very Nurse and Supportess of the Rebellion.

The Method
of our Late
Troubles
fresh in our
Memories.

His *Sacred Majesty* can never forget by what means his Blessed Father was *Murder'd*; nor the *Bishops* forget the abuse and Profanation of the *Pulpits* even to the Extirpating of the *Holy Order*; the *Nobility* and *Gentry* can never forget the Illusions that were put upon them under the Appearance of *Religion* and *Duty*, by men that were void of both; neither certainly can the *Common people* forget how they were conjur'd into a Circle by *Sermons*, *Petitions*, and *Covenants*; whence there was no getting out again.

Ungrateful
to the City.

We'll see a little of their *Ingratitude* now to the City of *London*, and whether They far'd any better then other people. First they strip them of the *Militia*, then of their *Charter* and *Privileges*; they turn'd their Government *Topsy Turvy*: *Tax'd*, *Disarm'd*, *Imprison'd*, and *Plunder'd* at pleasure; took down their *Chaires*, and *Posts*, *Quarter'd* *Souldiers* upon them, *Garrison'd* the *Tower*, and several other places of the City; the *Army* Marching in Triumph through it, for the aggravation of their *Slavery*; they degraded the *Lord Mayor Reynoldson*, *Fine'd* him 2000*l.* and Committed him to the *Tower*, *April* 21. 48. for refusing to publish the *Proclamation* for *Abolishing* the *Kingly Office*: They threatned to set fire to the City, and lay it in the *Dust*, telling the *Mayer* and *Aldermen*, in a Letter about the beginning of *Aug.* 1647. that they were unable to defend either the *Parliament* or themselves; and demanding to have the City deliver'd into their hands; which was submitted to, upon Conditions, of relinquishing the *Militia*, and 11. Members, delivering up the *Forts*, and *Tower* of *London*, and all *Magazines*, and *Arms* therein, to the *Army*, disbanding their *Forts*, turning out all *Reformades*, and drawing off their *Guards* from the *Parliament*. In *Walker's Hist. of Independency*, these Particulars are to be seen at large.

The Plot driven on principally by *Petitions*.

It is remarkable, that what other means soever were occasionally made use of, the Plot was still driven on, from First to Last,

Left, mainly by PETITIONS, but none were admitted on the Other side: For so soon as ever any *Petition* appear'd that cross'd the *Factions* Interest; (as in several Cases from the *Agitators* or the *City of London*) there was presently a *strict enquiry* after the *Authors* and *Abettors* of them, and the *Design* immediately *crusht*. They should have taken in the *SUBSCRIBERS* too; and shu'd out a *Commissiun* of *Enquiry*, whether all the *Marks*, and *Subscriptions*, produced in the *Names* of so many thousand *Petitioners*, were really the *Acts*, and *Attestations* of the *Persons* so *Named*, and what *Arts* and *Menaces* were made use of for their procurement. No unnecessary caution, even in our present Case, to distinguish the *Sober*, and *well-meaning* *Subscribers*, from the *Fierce* and *Bloody* *Fifth-Monarchy men*, and other *Sects* that hold affinity with them; It being notoriously known, that a *Mark* is set upon the *Refusers* by those *Factions*, who are the violent *sticklers* in this proceeding, which carries the face rather of an *intended Massacre*, than a *Petition*. This will seem no uncharitable Construction, when I shall tell you what a *Noble Lord* said in the *House of Peers*, Dec. 19. 42. *Dutiful Children*. They cheerfully undertook (says he) to serve against that Army wherein they knew their Own *Fathers* were; and on my Conscience (says he) I speak it to their Honour had they known what they would have sacrific'd them to the *Command* of such *House*. And now you shall see their *Piety* expounded in another part of the same Speech. They (says he) who think that *Human Laws* can bind the *Conscience*; and will examine the *Oaths* they have taken, according to the *Interpretations* of Men, will in time fall from us: but such who Religiously consider that such *Moral Precepts* are *fitter* for *Heathens*, then for *Christians*; will not feint in their *Duty*.

A way to discover Counterfeits.

A Dispensation for perjury

To bring this Pamphlet to a Conclusion, we shall only say this further in justification of it, that it was written with a very *Honest Intention*; that the matter of *Fact* is partly upon *Certain Knowledge*, and partly upon the credit of very *Warrantable Papers*. The principal Scope of it was, to lay open the *Mystery* and *Method* of the *Late Rebellion*; and so to expose it, that the same *Project*, and *Model* may not be made use of for *Another*.

The End.

The CONTENTS.

<i>The Liberties of Press and Pulpit.</i>	Pag. 5
<i>A Deduction of the Late Troubles.</i>	P. 12
<i>Of Popular Petitions.</i>	P. 18
<i>Of Tumults.</i>	P. 22
<i>Of Popular Oaths and Associations.</i>	P. 23
<i>Of Plots, and Impositions.</i>	P. 26
<i>How the Faction gain'd the Common-Council.</i>	P. 28

ERRATA.

PAGE 15. line 11. after *Covenants*, read, *Associations* for the
Faction, and in line, the Party. Ibid. l. 29. for *Government*, r.
Governour. p. 21. l. 16. for *be kept*, r. *keep*. p. 22. l. 16. for *Garrets*,
Garrett. p. 27. l. 31. for *Abseffion*, r. *Obsession*.

Beside other Literal Faults Escaped in haste.

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